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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART III

"RISE OF TERRORISM"

(3 Mar - 23 June 1932)
Vol I

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Major, Field Artillery
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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

PART THREE: THE RISE OF TERRORISM

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Chapter 34
(3 March 1932)

Politics and the Soldier

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

"In Emperor Meiji's rescript to the soldier he clarified the structure of Japan. The Emperor believed that a soldier should not touch politics because the Nation's Army was under the Supreme Command. And as they are his main reliance they should never touch upon politics. However, since they are naturally, citizens, I think to step aside from the Army standpoint to a certain extent and to place concentrated attention on politics is still necessary. However, to make ARAKI the Premier or to campaign as a political party to put ARAKI in as Premier is very unorthodox. If ARAKI wants to become Premier, in other words takes advantage of his present position to do so, that is something disgraceful. It would be all right if he tried as plain ordinary ARAKI, but with the Army backing him going into politics or becoming the Premier is something that cannot even be thought of.

"The Army is only interested in the Manchurian-Mongolian problem, and there is a great deal to be watched in the movements within the Army. After all the nucleus of the Army is comprised of youths from farming villages and it is going to affect the quality of youths who comprise the structure of the Army. In regard to such youths, if the farming villages are not indoctrinated with the right politics, the foundation of the Army is in considerable danger. Thus, it is indeed necessary that the Army have the good favor of politics, which is a very important point. If you consider these points you naturally think of election

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conditions in farming villages. For instance, when bribery and all other forms of political corruption are shown to them point blank, it naturally has a deep effect on their mental state, which should be considered with deep thought. On account of this, I particularly feel that politics should be fair. At this point, various requests may arise, but nevertheless it is not good for soldiers to participate in politics. When the soldier starts participating in politics he is endangering the future of that country's army." Which is what SUZUKI said.

And continued in what seemed a sarcastic manner: "Especially when an ex-cavalry General like TANAKA of the Reserves or War Minister ARAKI is thought to be good for Premier, it is a very distorted idea. Therefore, it is also bad to have ARAKI!

Then on the night of the 27th, I left to go to the Prince's place to tell him in part, of the talk that Lt. Colonel SUZUKI brought to my place. And continued to ask: "Why don't you meet SUZUKI directly and ask him of the conditions within the Army. According to SUZUKI, the backbone of the Army, namely the colonels and lieutenant-colonels, his classmates, are all of the same opinion. SUZUKI is evidently not sympathizing very much with HIRANUMA and is talking from a rather fair standpoint. So for form's sake I discussed it with KONOYE, whereupon he also said: "I think it would be better for the Prince to meet him (SUZUKI)."

Then the Prince said: "Then, when it is convenient for SUZUKI to come, shall I listen to his story? However, I first want you to get the permission of the War Minister

because the natural course is for me to ask the War Minister about anything in regards to the Army. However, if it is a personal request of KONOYE or yourself that I meet him then I shall." Continuing the Prince said: "In older times Government officials held no love for money nor did military men hold love for their lives with a clear conscience" To this I would like to say that the direct opposite exists today. Government officials hold no love for their lives and military men hold no love for money. Government officials now hold a fear of terroristic gangs and military men are scheming to make money.

I returned to the Mizuguchi-ya (Inn) and took the 1:40 train from Shizuoka and returned to Tokyo. Upon returning, I phoned the Foreign Office and Navy Ministry and asked them of various conditions. It just so happened that that day the atmosphere in the League of Nations was very unfavorable and they were hurrying to send out a reply to the League. I also spoke with SHIRATORI and went to Kuwana with him and spoke with him on various subjects from eight o'clock. Whereupon TANI, MIURA and MORISHIMA came and also joined the conversation.

Then I said: "It is said that the Premier has talked with the Foreign Minister and that an Imperial rescript has been issued to send KANEKO, Kentaro and Baron DAN to America as Envoys."

To which SHIRATORI replied: "To do such a ridiculous thing at this date is not good. Not only that, there should be somebody else because a man like KANEKO is out of the question." According to SHIRATORI, as he said,

before coming to Kuwana: "I was conversing with KOISO, MORI and SUZUKI of the Army at Akasaka. In order to keep KANEKO or DAN from going to America, KOISO was sent to Baron DAN's place to warn him in advance not to send a man like KANEKO to America, and that for him to consider going to America cannot be tolerated."

And naturally the Prince also said: "Today is not the time to send KANEKO", which was emphasized and agreed upon by all.

Another thing, the Foreign Office intercepted a telegram sent from Japan to China wherein INUKAI stated to the Acting Premier of China: "Let us mutually withdraw troops 20 kilometres and establish a neutral zone and take direct action."

To which the Chinese Premier replied: "However, what will you do if your Army does not obey you?"

To which INUKAI again said: "I have plans relative to that which I am thinking about." That certain plan was perhaps for the Army to obey the Emperor's command to retreat; which was extremely displeasing to the Army. Both SHIRATORI and TANI were saying: "The action of the Premier is outrageous. To talk with the Acting Premier directly in regard to something of that nature, without anybody knowing about it, is outrageous."

I went home about eleven o'clock and the next morning, when I phoned to Okitsu about the conversation the Prince suddenly said: "At any rate I want to meet you. It may be of great trouble to you but come as soon as possible."

So I replied: "I will leave on the one o'clock train today." and hung up.

After going to the Foreign Office, Navy Ministry, and dropping in at the Cabinet, I took the one o'clock train out of Tokyo for Shizuoka. Stopping over at the Mizuguchi-ya (Inn) for a short rest, I phoned the War, Navy and Foreign Office to ask about the condition of China. I waited for Doctor KATSUNUMA to finish his checkup (on the Prince) and then after dinner, about seven o'clock I went to the Prince's place. At which time I told the Prince all about the talk on KANEKO. Whereupon the Prince replied: "I can't understand the meaning of it at all. It can't possibly be that they are sending KANEKO as a Special Envoy to a place where there is an Ambassador Plenipotentiary. What do they mean by Imperial Rescript?"

It was as a result very queer talk, however, Count KANEKO, personally wants to go very much. Then too, KANEKO, being the Chief of the Examination Committee of the Privy Council, the Government wants to avail itself of him from a political standpoint. And too, I think from this meaning, the Government wants to satisfy his desires. However, the Prince was very dissatisfied. But this is yet far from being decisive and I have alsc heard talk of movements to prevent his going. For instance, I told the Prince about all that occurred last night at Kuwana. To which the Prince replied: "The reason I asked you to come was not for any special reason, but the other day the Grand Chamberlain came and spoke of various things. During the talk he said: "The Emperor is very concerned about the rampancy of the Army so that he is unable to get any rest. About eleven o'clock at night he sent a Chamberlain over to

the Grand Chamberlain and asked him to come right away. I say truthfully, with gracious respect to the Emperor, that he may be worrying, but this Prince SAIONJI is, as a matter of fact, worrying more than the Emperor."

Then I said to worry so much is not going to get you anywhere. And too, to worry is just natural but in the present case it would be a good opportunity to pay your respects to the Emperor and say: "Do not worry so much. It is not a matter in which the Nation's fate is at stake."

Then the Prince continued: "If it is going to put his mind at ease by my going to Tokyo then it will be worth while. And if I go to Tokyo and step into the picture, although it will not amount to anything it may be appropriate for an elder statesman to step into the picture, at a time such as the present. From the standpoint of finance or economics, perhaps it may be appropriate to meet TAKAHASHI and also the War and Navy Ministers to hear the opinions of ministers or chief administrators, and perhaps to talk to the state ministers personally. So I think I will take the opportunity to go directly to Tokyo. It is still cold, and if the doctor is asked he will probably cancel my going, so KATSUNUMA will not even be told about it. I think I would like to go on the fifth. After meeting various people I think that my honorable respects can be paid the Emperor. I would like you to take care of all preparations. I would like also for you to notify the Grand Chamberlain and KONOYE. As a matter of fact, I was going to discuss this "going to Tokyo" with you, thinking that you might have said: 'Do not go', but

as you have no objections. let's say that I go. Consequently, the meeting with SHIRATORI, and with SUZUKI of the Army will also be held in Tokyo. And with MORI too. Please tell everybody about it. If anybody should ask you, I want you to say: 'SAIONJI doesn't have to come out but he says he wants to, so it can not be helped, but his coming will not help the cause.' And if you are questioned further I want you to say: 'It is primarily to pay honorable respects to the Emperor and because in a time like this he feels that he should meet personally those people who are responsible.' Perhaps there will be various things said, such as: 'SAIONJI is coming out and going to repress the Army' or 'He has been asked by the Premier' or 'How is it in regard to those close to him (Emperor).' However, such rumors must be kept as much as possible at a minimum. As a matter of fact they will not be true, so I want you to bear that in mind."

I then discussed the plans and preparations with the Governor of Shizuoka Prefecture and, after returning to Tokyo, with the Superintendent General of the Police and various railroad officials. At the same time I asked KONOYE and KIDO to await my return at my house and told them of the talk. I also phoned the Home Minister and Grand Chamberlain and told them that the Prince was returning. Both the Home Minister and Grand Chamberlain were greatly pleased.

Then I phoned and told MORI, SHIRATORI, and SUZUKI. I went personally the following day, that is on the second, to the Premier and told him.

The Premier said, in regard to the topic of the

so-called military budget, that the Privy Council says: "It cannot be done in accordance with Article 70 of the Constitution. Evidently a special session of the Diet will have to be called. Therefore, conditions may advance to such an extent that there will be nothing to do but for the Government to call a special session of the Diet.

And in regard to the calling of this special session of the Diet there is a point that is very questionable. A man such as HARA, Privy Councillor, is arguing with good aims, directly from the standpoint of law, but to tell the truth a great deal of scheming to take advantage of the Diet session to overthrow the Cabinet is evident. There is an atmosphere in a part of the Cabinet to oust INUKAI and YOSHIZAWA. I am of the opinion that great care should be taken in regard to what is being said about outside influences abetting the cause.

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Chapter 35
(10 March 1932)

Assassination of Baron Dan

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

On the night of the 4th I went and stayed over at Okitsu, and on the morning of the 5th the Prince and I boarded the 9:34 regular train from Okitsu. When we came to Ofuna, the assistant station master came and said: "An extra has just come out. It is said that Baron DAN of Mitsui's has been shot." I told the Prince about this and he was very sympathetic and said: "Indeed, a very pitiful thing has occurred. I want a telegram sent from here." But the telegram of condolence was actually sent from Yokohama. And too, when we reached Yokohama, the commander of the Kojimachi gendarmerie, chief of the railroad bureau, MATSUI and others were there to greet us. We heard from them that he (DAN) already had died. Upon reaching Shimbashi there was not only a sight to be seen but a really heavy guard. Throughout my eight years' association with Prince SAIONJI I have never returned to Tokyo under such a heavy guard. We immediately went to Surugadai and throughout that day did not meet anybody. And in regard to the incident about DAN, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Bureau, along with the Army and Navy, was making a thorough search and was evidently trying to find the source.

The following day being the 6th and a Sunday, and as the Prince remarked that he was tired and said he wanted to rest, nobody was met. I, on the other hand, went to the Foreign Office and Navy Ministry and asked about conditions but there were slight changes. Since

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the DAN affair had occurred, various rumors without fact were flying. Such rumors as: "Prince SAIONJI's visit to Tokyo is to change those close to the Emperor;" "He has come to make adjustments after the resignation of SUZUKI, the Grand Chamberlain;" "Hasn't he come to repress the Army;" "It looks as though TAKAHASHI, Finance Minister is going to resign;" and various other rumors pointing to political changes which are swaying public sentiment, a very annoying thing.

On Monday the 7th the Premier came at 9:30, met the Prince and talked for approximately an hour, and retired. Then at 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Minister of the Imperial Household came and also talked for approximately an hour. After he departed I went to the Prince's place but there evidently was no outstanding talk. And too, I did not inquire too insistently but the Premier was evidently very worried in regard to the "New Nation" problem. And in the conversation that preceded, the Premier had said: "As a result, we will have to think of recognition but it is not necessary to say yes or no just at present."

Then almost immediately after the departure of the Household Minister, the Grand Chamberlain and a messenger from the Empress came with a very informal greeting from both the Emperor and Empress, to the following effect: "Although it is still cold it is good for you to come to Tokyo." Such a greeting was extended and after staying 20 or 30 minutes, both departed.

On the following day, the 8th, there were no visitors in the morning but at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the Navy Minister came. After the meeting I met the Prince

and he said: "He is a man who understands very well, with a mind that is very versatile."

Then I met the Navy Minister at the Navy Ministry and he, with great admiration, stated: "He indeed has a very good head and at every important point in the conversation he stops to make certain. He certainly does not look like a man of eighty some years."

On the morning of the 9th at 9:30 the War Minister came and talked on various things concerning the Army, including the Manchurian and the Shanghai Incidents, for a period of over two hours. Then, at two in the afternoon, the Foreign Minister came and departed. There were no special developments, and when I met the War Minister at the Premier's residence accidently, the War Minister also was impressed by his first meeting with the Prince and astounded at his coherence. And when I met the Prince in the evening, the Prince was saying: "That man ARAKI is a straight-talking man and his line of talk stands to reason. Of course by line of talk I am referring to the line of talk in his opinion. He has a slight Utopian tendency, but he really can talk."

Then I said jokingly: "An Army man came to KONOYE's or somebody else's place and said that when ARAKI, the War Minister, meets the Prince he is afraid he will be a failure." To which the Prince laughingly replied: "Failure nothing, he was perfect."

Since the DAN Incident investigations have progressed quite a bit, gradually various people are being arrested, and it seems that opinions have been formed.

When I went to the War Ministry to see INOUYE, SUZUKI came and spoke of various things, among which he said:

Assassination of Baron Dan

"Indeed it is bad in days like these with a condition of anxiety. It seems as though there is a lack of stable public opinion. In regard, perhaps, to a U.S.-Japan War or perhaps on account of this, rumors are very numerous that troops are being landed in Saghalien or Formosa. Such propaganda is being spread in all probability by the Third International orthose with Communistic leanings. At the time of the North-China expedition the Communists (according to the Russian idea) were to incite Japan and the U.S. to fight in the Pacific. By so doing it was their aim to create a condition of confusion. So from the looks of things it is the Russians (who are creating this commotion)." This is what SUZUKI was insistently explaining. And he continued to say: "At all costs something must be done to quiet this public anxiety. Therefore some connections should be made with newspapers whereby this can be accomplished."

SUZUKI also promised to ask MAEDA of the Asahi to dine at some place. At any rate something must be done to calm down the situation in a hurry.

The day before DAN was killed, that is, on the morning of the 4th, I had some business to do at the Yokohama Specie Bank where I met the President. On my way back, KINO said he wanted to see me, so I went to see him and he said: "This morning a man by the name of HASHIMOTO, Tetsuma came to KODAMA, who acted as the spearhead in the INOUYE dollar purchase (incident), and said: "Some money must be paid and if you refuse to pay there is danger to your life."

On account of this, KINO was also very worried, so I immediately ascertained the whereabouts of the Chief

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of the Metropolitan Police Bureau and found him at the Premier's residence where the Vice-Minister of Home Affairs was present. I told them to protect the life of the President of the Yokohama Specie Bank and at the same time asked them to take every measure against anyone making such threats. Then immediately on the day following, the D.N incident broke out which truly surprised the police.

Then the Diet was to be called on the 18th, to last through the 25th for one week. The first two days would be taken up with incidentals; thus the opening ceremony would take place on the 20th. The 21st and 22nd would be holidays, therefore the last three days would be a session for the approval of the special military budget.

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Chapter 36
(16 March 1932)

Saionji Reassures Hirohito

Translated by Dr. Haruo Kawashima

Then INUKAI, Ken came and said that he had been speaking with KATOYUKI and KATOYUKI said: "It looks as though MAKAHASHI is going to be the center of various attacks again in the coming Diet Session. So it would be better for him to resign before the Session convenes. But as a matter of fact HARADA has quite a say in whether he should stay or not, so why don't you ask HARADA to tell him to resign."

And INUKAI continued to say: "If possible I would like to refrain from saying this." After further inquiries he said: "I have also met MINAMI, the Governor-General of Formosa, and he will not resign." Although it looked as though problems were prevalent and yet there did not seem to be anything to say, the conversation lapsed.

Since the arrival of the Prince in Tokyo, TANI, SHIRATORI and various other people had been met. It had been arranged for the Prince to enter the Palace at 1 o'clock on the 14th, so I had dinner with him at 11 o'clock.

The Cabinet meeting, supposed to have been held on Friday, was carried over until Saturday in order that the decision reached on the Manchurian-Mongolian policy by the Inter-Ministry Conference (Army, Navy, Foreign Affairs, and Finance) could be placed before the Cabinet for consideration. At the Cabinet meeting, various problems were encountered, among which was the "New Nation" problem; if this was to be looked upon as a violation of

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the Nine Power Pact, then, at least on the surface, recognition should be postponed for the time being. However, if CHANG Hsueh-Liang acts as an insurgent against the "New Nation" it will not be able to quell the rebellion because the "New Nation" does not have an army. Therefore, in order to safeguard this "New Nation" the Japanese Army must repel the attack. Referring to the Boxer Rebellion, the Japanese Army under the guise of a Manchurian peace preservation force, was on the alert. Whether or not the present case could be compared with the former, and various other intricate problems, necessitated carrying over the Cabinet meeting to Saturday. The demands of the Army, to a certain extent from various standpoints, were averted.

Having obtained the inside story from the Navy Minister, I showed the original and corrected plans to the Prince on Monday.

The Prince said: "I want to talk about that so have dinner with me at 11 o'clock." Accordingly I went and gave him the complete inside story and left the original plans with him. At 1 o'clock the Prince entered the Palace.

Owing to recent occurrences there was a very heavy guard. From about 1 o'clock to 2 o'clodk the Prince talked at random with the Grand Chamberlain and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. At 2 o'clock he was given audience with both their Imperial Highnesses. The Empress retired immediately but he talked with the Emperor for about an hour, after which tea was served to those close by. A little after 4 o'clock the Prince returned to his residence in Surugadai.

During the course of conversation at the meal before

his going to the Palace he said: "When I have the audience today there is nothing special that I am going to say. However, I will report on the fundamental points, by saying 'The present-day trends show that results are still far from being reached, and there may be numerous obstacles along the path, but in spite of such obstacles it is a time when not only we ourselves but all concerned must concert efforts to bring about good results. There may be some aspects of present-day trends that may cause deep concern, but there are no conditions over which you should be distressed. We ourselves have come up against many discouraging factors to date, but looking at the situation from a broad viewpoint you should not worry so much and I believe it to be of utmost necessity that you remain calm.' The foregoing is the general trend of conversation I hope to carry on. What do you think about it? There are no other things to tell him."

He added: "Upon looking at recent trends, to all appearances, various plans are being pushed ahead recklessly. It is a very clumsy way of handling things, and, as Bismarck was said to have warned when he was attempting to become the leader of the Prussians; 'It is very clumsy to handle politics and foreign affairs by saying things too early, so in order to avoid this clumsiness care should be taken.' I believe that the conditions of Japan today call for the same type of warning."

On the way back from the Palace I did not make any special attempts to ask the Prince: "What sort of talk did you have with the Emperor?" or "Did he ask you any questions?" Such questions, naturally are not to be asked under the circumstances, so I kept quiet and the Prince

also did not touch upon the question.

Just this morning the Emperor's sanction, from the standpoint of the prerogative of the Supreme Command, was obtained on a command to be given for the withdrawal from Shanghai of the 11th Division of Kurume, comprising, with others, a division and a half. It looks as though they will actually start withdrawing around the 20th. The conditions in Shanghai are rather upset but everything is gradually quieting down.

The Prince returned, and on the following day WAKATSUKI, ADACHI, YAMAMOTO, TAISUO, and others were meeting him consecutively. And as too many people were trying to meet him some 20 people were turned away for the time being.

When I went to the Premier's official residence on the 15th, INUKAI, Ken said: "Relative to what I told you before about HAMAGUCHI, he is reported to have spoken to Vice-Minister KAMEI, R.D.: 'I am hard of hearing and my health is not too good, therefore I could not possibly be of further aid to the Premier. It is better that I resign.' is what he openly said. Therefore the Premier, after the Cabinet meeting on the 15th, went personally to the sickbed of Home Minister HAMAGUCHI, when HAMAGUCHI said: 'I want to be of aid to you but if conditions call for writing, I am afraid I will not be of much help.'"

Thereupon the Premier returned home and had his son, KINJI, who was secretary, write and deliver HAMAGUCHI's resignation.

As soon as this took place the revamping of the Cabinet took on a completely different aspect. HIROTA is relinquishing his claim in favor of SUZUKI for the

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Home Ministership. And in SUZUKI's former position in the Justice Ministry will be placed H.T., Toyosuke. Then in H.TOYODA's place as Education Minister, K.MURA, Tekeji will be brought forth.

This is evidently how it will be decided upon. Therefore, in order to obtain the acknowledgment of Railway Minister TOKONAMI, the Premier called TOKONAMI on the afternoon of the 15th to get his approval on placing SUZUKI in the seat of the Home Minister. At the time of the meeting TOKONAMI seemed to be very tranquil but once he was outside I heard that he was in a very nasty mood.

In regard to making SUZUKI the Home Minister, the outstanding points against him are that he is a free lancer, or a terrorist, or has a tendency to associate with extreme rightists and wants to accomplish everything by the strong-arm method. SUZUKI's (ideas as regards) personnel administration are open to much criticism and relative to his becoming Home Minister it is said that he will make no changes in personnel.

If by chance, on the other hand, K.MURA is made the Justice Minister, the Premier is contemplating that H.T. also will be bound by prior understanding to discuss all matters pertaining to personnel administration with the Premier.

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Chapter 37
(25 March 1932)

Domestic Politics

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

At eleven o'clock on the morning of the 16th, the Prince went to the Detached Palace at Omiya to pay his respects to the Crown Prince and had an audience of approximately forty minutes with him. On his way back he paid a visit to the Premier at his official residence as a return compliment for the Premier's visit. After about an hour's conversation he took leave and on the way back in the car he said to me: "Regarding the talk about the Home Minister, the Premier has decided to act concurrently during the Diet session and to postpone the new appointment until after the session."

And because I felt like I was catching a cold, instead of having lunch with the Prince I returned home.

That night I invited the British Ambassador and MATSUDAIRA, Yoshitami to supper. Because of the fact that various baseless rumors are flying around in official circles, foreign officials too are relaying such rumors, which are tending to create unstable conditions, that are not very pleasant. From 7:30 to about 11:30 we talked on various things and came to the general conclusion that foreign officials (diplomats) are not to believe rumors that are without foundation.

That night, after I had retired with a very high fever, INUKAI, Ken phoned and said: "It is indeed very distressing talk but it is said, relative to putting SUZUKI in as Home Minister that it is the scheme of MORI, HARADA and HATOYAMA. And around Tsuguno it is

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Chapter 37
(25 March 1932)

Domestic Politics

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kaweshima

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said that it is very outrageous of you."

In the first place I haven't met HATOYAMA recently and even when I had met MORI, that sort of talk did not come out. So naturally, it would be the truth to say that I did not know a thing about it. However, it made me think that there still are people who will spread such rumors and of course I did not place much weight upon it.

When the Prince returned on the 18th, I was unable even to see him off. I was confined to bed until the 21st. During this time, I heard talk to the following effect: "It is outrageous to put KAWAMURA in as Justice Minister, or to put SUZUKI in as the Home Minister. It is the scheming of a small minority, and to have such a scheme materialize is very distressing." Such criticisms are prevalent and the so-called middle-road faction, or rationalists, and the greater part of the anti-SUZUKI people are particularly fervent. And they were perhaps even thinking of suggesting a resolution to think twice before acting upon him. I heard such talk in regard to the issue from OKAZAKI, Kunisuke and MITSUCHI, Chuzo.

Also during my confinement Chief Secretary MORI came and said: "I cannot tell anyone else but I have told the Premier that 'I want to resign', and that I cannot possibly act in the capacity of the Premier's 'good omen'."

Following this the Diet session convened for three days from the 22nd without much happening that was out of the ordinary. Around the 24th I heard talk to the following effect: "If MORI is told to refrain from resigning by the Premier it is going to be pretty hard for him to resign." And too, when I met MORI personally

he said: "I have tendered my resignation. But I assure you that my resignation will not be the cause of a commotion within the Cabinet or cause a split in the party. If SUZUKI is made the Home Minister I will support him as any Minister should be supported, at least for two or three months."

And when I went to the Foreign Office and met SHIRATORI, he said: "MORI came and asked:'What shall I do if the Premier stops me (from resigning)' to which I (SHIRATORI) replied: 'If you are stopped it would be better for you to continue'."

Then according to MORI: "In the general meeting of Seiyukai Diet members, KUHARA was against letting SUZUKI become the Home Minister. And relative to the same, it is said that he went with a protest to the Premier. The reason that the anti-SUZUKI people approved KUHARA's action in protesting to the Premier as a proper step lies in the feeling that for a small minority to scheme up such a thing and have it materialize cannot be tolerated. But it can be added that there is not the slightest indication that their approval was stamped on all of KUHARA's actions. Quite to the contrary, it can be said that too much scheming on the part of KUHARA has brought antagonism upon him. And the decision reached at the general meeting of Diet members was to leave everything up to the Premier."

However, in certain other circles it is said: "No concrete results were reached at the general meeting owing to the fact that everybody had his own ideas."

In any event, it looks as though the Premier is going to carry out his original plan of installing the

new Home Minister after the Diet recess. At this the general atmosphere has quieted down for the time being. And it looks as if MORI will be induced by the Premier to remain in office.

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Chapter 38
(3 April 1932)

Konoye and Mori

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

On the afternoon of the 25th, Justice Minister SUZUKI finally became the Home Minister. The post of Justice Minister was then taken by the newly appointed KAWAMURA, and the investiture was carried through without delay. Soon after SUZUKI was invested with the office of Home Minister he made a statement to newspaper reporters to the following effect: "I am not going to touch the personnel of the Home Ministry. The Vice-Minister, Police Superintendent-General and Chief of the Police Bureau (Home Ministry) will not be changed. And at the same time rightist organizations as well as leftists, along with radical organizations, will be dealt with fairly."

Up to the present, the concensus of opinion on Home Minister SUZUKI as a private person was that at every opportunity he shielded the rightist organizations or free lancers. Or perhaps, to be more specific, SUZUKI utilized these people. On the other hand, being a ringleader type of man, his characteristics verify this estimate. Also, having been affiliated with this category over a period of time, has had instilled a feeling of uneasiness in the people. At this juncture, for him to make a complete reversal, and to make a completely different decision from that expected by the people, in regard to handling the rightists and leftists with all fairness, has relieved the anxieties of people in certain quarters.

Within the Seiyukai there were those that said this

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and that, but this being the scheming of a small minority, a hopeful decision was reached that these actions would not sway public sentiment. For this reason, those that were saying this and that were evidently quieted down.

Meeting Chief Secretary MORI, he said: "As a matter of fact, I have severei connections with KUHARA."

From what I have heard, the Army is not very favorable toward KUHARA. And ADACHI will not collaborate on any conditions with KUHARA, which of course puts KUHARA in a very humiliating position. According to MORI, at first there were plans of grouping KUHARA, SUZUKI and HIRANUMA and starting new actions, but from a broad standpoint, a man like Baron HIRANUMA, who is trusted in certain circles of the Army, cannot possibly function smoothly with men like KUHARA. Again, ADACHI, on the warning of a third party, was placed in the same category as KUHARA. Either way it may be looked upon, the KUHARA faction is faced with an unfavorable situation.

On the 28th MORI went to meet the Prince. This meeting had been promised before the Prince had come from Okitsu to Tokyo. Unable to meet him during his stay in Tokyo, he had postponed it to this date. The object of MORI in wanting to meet and speak with the Prince, was evidently to express his opinion in regard to the procedure of the Diet and future possibilities.

And too, there are people saying: "MORI has gone to express his dissatisfaction about the YOSHIZAWA way of handling of Foreign Affairs," but I think that this talk is mistaken.

On the 26th, not having gone to the Prince's place for quite some time, I went whereupon he said: "As a

matter of fact, on the 21st, that is while you were sick, KONOYE made a special trip to see me and talked for about three hours on various topics. What kind of ideas do you think KONOYE has? He talks as though the situation is very strained, but I wonder how strained it really is."

Then I told the Prince that I had met MORI and asked: "You wouldn't really resign immediately after the Diet session in order to overturn the Cabinet, would you?"

To which he replied: "Naturally I wouldn't resign immediately. I have worked earnestly three years for Premier INUKAI and as I feel today, if I were to resign, the future of Seiyukai plans, and further thought on my part respecting proposals to the Premier would delay my decision."

Such as the above was said by MORI, therefore I do not think that there will be any drastic turn of events. However, something may occur by the time of the next Diet session. At any rate, MORI is coming to meet your Highness on the day after tomorrow, so at that time I want you to listen to him, for I have told him to tell you fully what is on his mind."

Whereupon the Prince said: "How much confidence has KONOYE placed in KIDO?"

To which I replied: "Naturally among us friends we think KONOYE places great trust in KIDO. As far as one knows his thoughts are the most definite and he has studied and is probably most reliable. We are not just taking KIDO lightly."

Then the Prince again said that in KONOYE's talk KONOYE said: "The Emperor, holding very liberal ideas,

may be the main cause of friction with the Army." And continuing the Prince said: "And for the Emperor to hold very liberal thoughts, according to KONOYE, sounds very bad. What do you think?"

So I said: "I do not think that KONOYE holds it against the Emperor at all for having liberal thoughts. Naturally, I think it is better for the Emperor to have liberal ideas but, in view of present-day Army trends, I am afraid that a case may arise in which there will be a clash of opinions. And I think that a case for a clash will arise because 'what the Army may be thinking' may be wrong."

Then the Prince said: "We were talking of various things in regard to the personnel of the Imperial Household Ministry, and it was suggested that the Vice Grand Chamberlain and Vice Household Minister should be changed. But as I am not the Imperial Household Minister, it is difficult for me to do anything. Whether this is the time to put our hands on the question is doubtful, but I guess they will have to be changed. And KONOYE was insistent that a Prince be put in as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. But I said (to KONOYE): 'It may not be good right away, but one or two years hence to put KIDO in as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, even considering his age, will not appear strange. I think that KIDO is a good man'

"In regard to the usual talk about KONOYE being put in as President of the House of Peers, it would be difficult unless TOKUGAWA resigns. And whether TOKUGAWA has intentions of really resigning if he receives the Grand Order of the Chrysanthemum, certain people say:

'With just the Grand Order of the Chrysanthemum, he will not resign unless there is a tidy sum attached to the decoration.' Just what do you think about this."

Then according to the Prince: "How would it be to make him mayor of Tokyo after receiving the Grand Order of the Chrysanthemum. However, TOKUGAWA would not like to become the mayor of Tokyo and to receive the mayor's salary himself. He would not like it unless the salary were donated to some philanthropic organization. But either way, in the event TOKUGAWA is to resign, I would want KONOYE installed as President of the House of Peers as soon as possible. I think it is a real waste of time in leaving KONOYE in as Vice-President at such a time."

Then in regard to ARAKI and HIRANUMA, the Prince said: "Do you think that KONOYE is in favor of HIRANUMA or do you think that he is supporting him because he has to?"

Therefore I said: "I am afraid it is not because he is in favor of him. In this case, if he is doing it because he has to, then it is because HIRANUMA is the only choice. And to KONOYE if it is to be HIRANUMA it might just as well be ARAKI, but since ARAKI has taken over his post as the present War Minister there are rumors to the effect that it is the highest position ARAKI is capable of holding. As for Premier, he is practically out of the question. So the job naturally goes back to HIRANUMA, but I am sure it is not because he is suitable that KONOYE wants it that way."

Then the Prince said: "KONOYE does not speak about UGAKI at all but do you think that KONOYE thinks there is no use for stubborn UGAKI?"

So I said: "In this immediate situation, it would be very inappropriate for him to come but, in the future he naturally will be of use again; his usefulness is recognized."

Then the Prince reiterated: "It must not be a temporary revision. A man who has the destinies of a new political era entrusted him must get at the root of things." By so saying KONOYE was getting in the first word. And he kept saying; 'put in HIRANUMA' or 'put in ARAKI'. However, looking at the recent history of each and every country the outgoing government has always applied emergency measures to the incoming government. Where has there been an actual government comparable to an impregnable castle?"

The Prince laughingly stated the above but continued to say: "In regard to this terrorist incident it is said by certain people that MORI is connected with it in some way. What do you think?"

So I said: "Some time back certain members of the group may have received money from MORI, but I have heard nothing in regard to such actions recently, so I would not know."

Then in regard to SHIRATORI the Prince said: "I also heard from KONOYE that SHIRATORI has gone in for MORI completely. What do you think?"

To which I replied: "I do not think that is so. I believe it is only because he sides with MORI in expressing discontent about Foreign Minister YOSHIZAWA that this is said about him. It seems as though their feelings are mutual; however, SHIRATORI is working with his own ideas."

Then finally the Prince related how MATSUDAIRA, Yoshitami was planning on the personnel of the Imperial Household Ministry and the Prince added: "It would be good to put Yoshitami in as the President of the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry."

That day I spoke with the Prince from 12 o'clock to about 4 o'clock and then returned home.

On the 28th MORI went to the Prince's place and spoke on various matters for about two hours and returned. After which he (MORI) phoned me and said how satisfactory everything has turned out.

Then on the 1st, I went to Okitsu to tell the Prince about the talks with the Foreign Minister and the Premier. We also talked in regard to the Finance Minister's budget. In the talk about the Premier, there was mention that "MORI's resignation was on account of a clash with KUHARA", but this I said showed lack of knowledge on the part of the Premier. This I told the Prince and the Prince, I believe, was of the same opinion.

The Prince said: "When MORI came the other day I asked him how it turned out", to which MORI's reply was: 'Well, as a matter of fact, INUKAI is not enough.' He asked about the future, and for various other personal opinions. Too, he mentioned the talk about emergency measures. In regard to MORI's recent talk, KONOYE's objection to emergency measures seems to have resulted in KONOYE's cold-shouldering MORI, at least that is the impression I got."

The Prince said to MORI: "Emergency measures and such things are said to be of no use, but looking at the

last hundred years of history, there is no nation that has not resorted to emergency measures", to which MORI said: "That is true but there are degrees of emergency measures", so I said: "That doesn't count; where has a government, impregnable as a castle, been formed which could actually boast that it would continue for five or maybe ten years? Have they all not resorted to emergency measures?" Whereupon MORI scratched his head and said: "I understand, you are right."

I then told the Prince that I had discussed the talk about Prince TOKUGAWA with Count SAKAI, Chusei; also I told him about the Foreign Minister's talk, developments in the League, the withdrawal of troops from Shanghai, and various other topics. Then I returned to Tokyo on the evening train.

The Prince looked to me to be very well.

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Chapter 39
(8 April 1932)

Arita and the Foreign Office

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

On the morning of the 4th, ITOH, Bunkichi; KIDO and KONOYE had breakfast at my house, at which time there was talk about bringing in YUKI as successor to INOUYE. So I reported that YUKI had already accepted. Then there was something about the Mitsubishi and Mitsui people getting together with ITOH, Bunkichi and KIDO in the usual muika-kai (name of a meeting) at which a "ronin" (a patriot without an official post), by the name of MURAKAMI, said various things like dragging out YAMAMOTO Gombei. At that time ITOH, Bunkichi said vehemently: "After the next political change there will be a necessity for grave consideration of the next Premier. HIRANUMA has all the qualifications but do you not think that SAITO is better?"

A desultory conversation was carried on until about 12 o'clock and was concluded on this note: "Will the Army accept SAITO? Why don't we ascertain from men in the inner military circle whether SAITO is acceptable to the Army."

When I went to the Foreign Ministry around 12 o'clock, KIMURA, Eiichi and ARITA, Hachiro were there. With the two of them, I went to the Tokyo Club, where OKABE and TAKAGI were, and we held the usual Monday conference.

During the lunch I read to them the reports I had written on internal affairs to Ambassador MATSUDAIRA and other Ambassadors and Ministers stationed overseas.

This morning KONOYE said that he had conversed last night with War Minister ARAKI for five or six hours

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and during the talk, he (ARAKI) said: "The 20 million yen that had been loaned by Mitsui-Mitsubishi was brought to the Army but the Army refused it and told them to bring it to the government. So it was then brought to the Finance Ministry. Sumitomo, through NAKAGAWA, Kojuro, and again NAKAGAWA through a Major KATO, wanted to donate 1,300,000 yen for aircraft facilities, but this also was refused."

Upon hearing this, I at once thought that the Sumitomo story was a lie, so I thought I should at least warn Sumitomo.

Then again in KONOYE's talk: "It is a fact that Mitsui-Mitsubishi were, to some extent, compelled by the extortion of certain men in the Army," which made the story look a little queer.

So I went to Sumitomo and phoned Councillor KAWADA in Osaka and said: "I want to speak to Mr. OGURA, but as he is not there, I will tell you. If Sumitomo is going to do the same thing that Mitsui and Mitsubishi are doing, you had better do it with great care. Not only that, whether or not it is to be done, it is better that Mr. OGURA come to Tokyo immediately and meet the War Minister and hear what he has to say." And I added, "at the same time, Mr. OGURA should say to the War Minister personally: 'I will not let anybody but myself touch problems of such a nature. If the case should be to the contrary, I myself will go to you personally, so if there is any talk whatsoever from other sources it will not be of my concern. I want you please to bear this in mind.'"

Then, that morning, I called SHIRATORI, and SUZUKI

of the Army, to my house to eat with KONOYE and myself. He talked about various matters, such as this morning's talk, on whether it should be HIRANUMA or SAITO, and asked about various conditions within the Army. And according to Lt. Colonel SUZUKI, he said, "The Army doesn't have any idea of saying that it should be HIRANUMA or it has to be SAITO. Up to now, those people from ready-made political parties, bound closely by favoritism, have become Premier and have been men well along in years. And anyone looking at them would say, 'well' -- and to think that such a man is at the helm of politics at such a critical period. This is not only bad for the morale of the Army but also for the general public. So this is the time for some man who possesses no favoritism, who is not thinking of himself, and who is not tied down by obligations, to be brought forth. For this person to be young and clear-minded will, moreover, create a new atmosphere. So at this time, don't you think it would be good for KONOYE, in all justice, to act in the place of Prince SAIONJI. At such a critical period it is only right that an elder statesman be the guiding hand of the nation's policies, but since his age will not permit it, KONOYE should act as his representative." Both SHIRATORI and SUZUKI were persistent in their persuasion.

And I also added: "From a certain standpoint I think it a very good idea but on the other hand, as to its being adopted, a little more consideration will have to be given. I will think it over," and we disbanded.

Before everybody came to dinner INUKAI, Ken came

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and said: "I have come to ask you a favor. Minister ARITA has already said: 'He (ARITA) has to return to Austria', and documents pertaining to same are already in the hands of the Premier, but I would like something done about having ARITA stopped. The Premier too was very worried and the Foreign Minister said to come and see you. So I have come to ask you for your assistance."

I have a general idea of what it is about, however, I told him that I would look into the atmosphere of the Foreign Office thoroughly and then think it over.

On the morning of the 5th, I went to KIDO's place and although he was sick in bed, I discussed what KONOYE had said on the night of the 4th. KIDO was running a fever, but he said he would think it over nevertheless.

On the way back, I went to the Foreign Ministry and met TSUBOGAMI and HITAMI in HITAMI's office and asked them about ARITA. To which HITAMI insistently replied: "Everybody is in need of help, so to have a man of ARITA's calibre around is absolutely necessary. Be that as it may, a pretty high position will have to be thought of, in order that he will be able to work. Because in the present condition, even if one wants to work, he is unable to do so. That is where status should be recognized, so that a person can work."

Then I replied: "That is something that is indeed necessary. And as UNUKI, Ken asked: 'Is ARITA fed up with Foreign Minister YOSHIZAWA personally, or is it with TANI or SHIRATORI, or is it something in the atmosphere of the Foreign Ministry with which he is so displeased that he wants to return soon.'"

Then TSUBOGAMI and HITAMI both said: "Isn't it a

little of each?" And TSUBOGAMI continued to say: "I am afraid that he personally will not agree. However, we will assist in any manner possible, even in the background."

Then, on the way home, I went to TANI's place and said: "As a matter of fact, the talk is like this, what do you think?" To which TANI replied: "I would certainly like to have him around and naturally to make ARITA the Vice-Minister, sending Vice-Minister NAGAI to America as Ambassador. To be promised secretly that the Minister would remain three or four months, or perhaps about six months, would be a good idea, don't you think? At this moment especially, a Vice-Minister with a broad understanding of the Chinese problem is necessary. From the standpoint of the atmosphere within the Foreign Ministry, the present Vice-Minister is a man of great character and is suitable. But when it comes to work, he is of no use. On that point, if ARITA is appointed, there will be improvement. The atmosphere within the office needs to be tightened, and it is a time that something must be done. Thus, a man with ARITA's reputable position is a requirement in the office, not only for the sake of the office, but for the general welfare. Therefore, I shall exert my efforts." Thus I obtained some general opinions.

That afternoon I had promised to meet OGURA of Sumitomo at his office, and upon meeting him and speaking of various matters, he said: "The Mitsui-Mitsubishi deal for 20 million yen looks as though it has been extorted, and since funds are insufficient, there are rumors that they will come to Sumitomo also. What do you think?"

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Then I phoned the War Ministry and said that I too had heard something and asked of SUZUKI, Teiichi: "On this Mitsui-Mitsubishi deal, is there any evidence that Chief of the Accounting Bureau ONODERA, or men like KOISO, have indirectly or directly practiced any extortion?" Whereupon SUZUKI replied: "As a matter of fact, I have been worrying very much and there is some evidence that men outside official circles are active, which is causing trouble."

Having found out that there really was some truth in the story, I phoned and said to the War Minister: "Well, anyway, please meet OGURA personally this afternoon." Thus, I arranged to have OGURA and War Minister ARAKI meet at 3:30 o'clock on the afternoon of the 6th.

I returned home in the late afternoon. That night, as I had invited ten or so section chiefs of the Finance Ministry, the Department of Overseas Affairs, and the Bureau of Asiatic Affairs, to the Kuwana, I was preparing to leave, when INUKAI, Ken came and said: "What has happened in regard to the talk about ARITA?" To which I replied: "I haven't as yet met ARITA, but he plainly stated that the atmosphere within the Foreign Ministry is just like that."

And INUKAI replied: "That is true. If a person hasn't got a status, it is very hard for him to work. I shall do something about it." And he added: "Anyway will you go to ARITA right away and tell him about it?"

So I said to TAKAYAMA of the Department of Overseas Affairs: "I want you to act in my place as host and conduct the banquet."

Then I phoned ARITA and went to his home in Mejiro

and talked with him from 6:30 to about 9:00 o'clock.

At that time, ARITA said: "This is just for you, but when I received the first telegram, that is, when YOSHIZAWA was representing the League, although I may have been incompetent, I tried my best to help YOSHIZAWA out in regard to the China problem.without overstepping the authority of SUGIMURA or SAWADA. Nevertheless, YOSHIZAWA, wanting to make the most of my help and to discuss things said to come back. So thinking it would only be a month and a half or two months, I came back. At that time, I anticipated that talk would come out about my becoming Vice-Minister. However, at the time, I knew that I would need considerable determination, aside from the fact, that even if YOSHIZAWA became Minister and should ask me I would not very easily consent to becoming the Vice-Minister. I intend to take every precaution and to put forth conditions, whereby, in case the Foreign Minister accepted, I would then accept for the first time. Unless it was that way, I absolutely would not accept the post of Vice-Minister. After coming, I did discuss various matters with SHIRATORI for about a month and a half to two months, and it wasn't a matter of referring back to the telegram. But aside from business calls, I was very seldom called upon. My presence did not seem to be of great importance nor did I seem to be of any help. Too, the atmosphere is unpleasant, so I naturally feel that I should go back to Austria and cultivate myself mentally."

Then I said: "The fact is, I think that Foreign Minister YOSHIZAWA was a little worried, as if he were entering an enemy country and wanted your good advice.

But the Foreign Ministry, after sending you, found out that you were not very lonely, so they have let out their breath and fallen into a state of relaxation. That is why they probably have no necessity for you now."

To which he replied: "That is the way it looks. First of all, there is absolutely no business to talk about between the Vice-Minister and Minister. And it is not that they listen to the opinion of bureau chiefs and that it is said 'No matter how you look at it, there is no way for efficiency to work there.' The bureau chiefs must be trusted and used accordingly. When I returned it looked as though, TANI being so young, the Foreign Minister did not place much confidence in him. So as far as I was concerned, I said: 'TANI is not that type. He performs his duty well and you must place more trust in the Chief of the Asiatic Bureau.' So now they seem to trust TANI. Therefore, if I were to say anything, I wouldn't set up any investigating committee. I would make it work under the present conditions with more efficiency. For instance, in a critical period such as the present, it would be proper to decline banquet invitations and to hold meetings of higher officials of the Foreign Ministry informally, before or after dinner and into the evening. With such procedure, to have speedy discussion on counter measures, I think, would be the thing to do. However, such things are not being done. It is good of you to come all the way out here and furthermore to try to stop me, but as for myself, I no longer have the desire to stay. In other words, I haven't the confidence. Will you please tell the Premier and the Foreign Minister:

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'ARITA has not the confidence to be of assistance, so at this stage he wants to go back to Austria and cultivate his mind.' I too will say: 'If I possibly can, in times of stress such as the present, I want to do as much as possible, not thinking of myself, but I haven't the least confidence in myself. So will you consider my wish just this once and permit me to return?" The above was what ARITA wanted me to say without reserve.

And he added: "I absolutely do not want you to say that I am sick and tired of the Foreign Minister."

I then returned home and called INUKAI, Ken and told him approximately what ARITA had told me. I then went to the banquet and returned home late.

The next morning, as I was to leave for Okitsu in the afternoon, I went to the Finance Minister's place and asked him various questions in regard to Manchuria and finances. At which time, he said: "It seems as though the Chief of the Army Accounting Bureau has gotten away with the goods (as the saying goes) but the men at outposts are also a problem." Then he referred to a precedent in regard to Manchuria, when Japan during the Meiji Restoration issued currenty of an absolute monarchy. And he said: "I have argued time and again that government currency can be issued without having to be a gold standard or backed by a gold reserve but---"

Then I said in regard to SAKAYA: "SAKAYA is a man that should be trusted."

And on my way home I stopped by the Premier's residence and met the Premier. Not referring to ARITA's feeling toward the Foreign Minister, I described the

present, actual conditions, within the Foreign Ministry.

The Premier was quite surprised and said: "I want you to try to stop ARITA once more when you come back from Okitsu. ARITA must stay." So I said: "When I return from Okitsu I will try to think of something," and departed.

Then I left on the 1 o'clock train and went to Okitsu. I arrived at the Prince's place about 4:30 and spoke of all the recent trends and also of ARITA's talk, whereupon the Prince said: "By all means devote your efforts. Men like TANI exerting their efforts, moreover, fulfilling their hopes, by all means, should be a good thing."

Then speaking about KONOYE the Prince said: "In case KONOYE is to be brought forth upon the political change, what procedure would you follow?" To which I repoied: "I am not thinking of any procedures."

And the Prince said: "As a matter of fact that may be good, but it would be preferable to make KONOYE President of the House of Peers as soon as possible and then make him Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. This would not only be for the good of the Imperial Household but for the nation as a whole. And don't you think that KIDO would be more suited to the position of Grand Chamberlain?" And continued by saying: "However, whoever is brought forth, the next person will not have an easy time. And I am of the opinion that HIRANUMA will not come forth. Don't you think it would be better that a little more time be given."

What was said (by the Prince): that for KONOYE to become the President (of the House of Peers) and then

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Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal would be to KONOYE's benefit and for the good of the future and also for the good of the nation, seemed to be my opinion also.

Then the Prince said: "It is said that MORI exerted great efforts to make the Minister of Overseas Affairs force the Vice-President of the South Manchuria Railway, EGUCHI to resign. But a note to the contrary has come to me, stating that MORI had nothing to do with the affair. What do you think?" To which I replied: "There are already traces to that effect." Then the Prince jokingly said: "When MORI came the other day he talked of various things and said 'SHIRATORI will do what I say.' So I said 'he is all right as he is. There is no harm in SHIRATORI being as he is today.' At this, MORI was scratching his head."

Then I mentioned the talk about Mitsui-Mitsubishi whereupon the Prince said: "I too, thought that there was something of that nature and was secretly concerned about it."

Then after having dinner with him I returned to my hotel and met the newspaper reporters.

The next morning, I went to the Prince's place at 9:30 and immediately phoned the Foreign Ministry and inquired of the Shanghai situation from TANI and reported same to the Prince. Continuing the varied conversation of yesterday, I stayed until about 11 o'clock.

I stopped over at Shizuoka and from there returned to Tokyo.

It just happened that I met Count MATSUDAIRA, Yoriyasu, on the train, so I spoke of the talk about Princt TOKUGAWA and asked him: "Discuss it only with

MATSUDAIRA and SAKAI, and please do not speak to anyone else about it. Count MATSUDAIRA, Yoriyasu was of the same opinion and said: "I will discuss it thoroughly."

Upon returning in the evening INUKAI, Ken came and said: "In regard to the usual National Policy Deliberation Conference, the Premier was serious, and YAMAMOTO, Kentaro and OGUCHI too, were thinking of it seriously. However, it seems as though MORI has gone and promised MAEDA, Toshisada and OGASAWARA. But for MAEDA and OGASAWARA to join is to bring in a contrast to Count YORIYASU or perhaps to the Princes of the Tuesday (Kayokai) Conference. With MAEDA or OGASAWARA in their company, there will be a strong atmosphere of opposition, which is worrying me."

To which I replied: "OGASAWARA is all right but to let a man like MAEDA join is bad. MAEDA should be refused."

INUKAI again said: "As a matter of fact it seems as though the Premier also has the same idea." And he continued to say: "In regard to the ARITA talk I leave it to your best judgment." So saying he took leave.

Then, as I was invited to dinner by the Minister from Holland, before going, I stopped over at KIDO's place for just a moment and then went to the Dutch Legation.

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Saionji -- Harada Memoirs

Chapter 40
(24 April 1932)

Uchida and the S.M.R.

Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

The National Policy Deliberation Council has not made much headway lately, but seems to be on the verge of making headway. The desire to change the governing body of the South Manchuria Railway Co. (Mantetsu), has existed in the Cabinet for some time. The president of the South Manchuria Railway and others were appointed during the time when the Minseito, the opposition party, formed the Cabinet; therefore, I believe that the present political party in power, Seiyukai, desires to displace the President and other officers of the South Manchurian Railway Co. with persons of its own choice. However, today, Army circles are harbouring a strong antipathy toward political parties. Whenever there is a change of Cabinet, merely for the interest of the political party, the governing bodies of the Colonies, (Governors-General of Korea and Formosa, as well as President and Vice-President of the South Manchuria Railway Co. (Mantetsu), are changed to suit its convenience. This is not in the national interest and it is being mentioned as one of the evil practices of party politics. It has been very displeasing to the Army to have the governing body of the colonies change each time that there is a Cabinet change. Therefore, for some time, Army circles have stood for the permanency of the presidency of the South Manchuria Railway Co. (Mantetsu).

Today (since the Manchukuo Incident), the Army is playing an active part in all matters in Manchukuo.

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Therefore, statesmen in general must respect the wishes of the Army, or they are unable to do anything.

UCHIDA, President of the South Manchuria Railway Co., was very submissive. He furnished working funds to the Army and worked in compliance with the Army to a certain degree. From the Army's standpoint, President UCHIDA was very easy to deal with. At the time of the outbreak of the Incident, President UCHIDA tried to check this and somewhat to prevent the Army from having its own way. However, due to the conditions existing then, he thought that if he opposed the Kwantung Army, which started this Incident with irresistible force, the Manchukuo matter might get more complicated and might even affect the internal affairs of Japan. Since it was impossible even for the Cabinet to suppress this, what could President UCHIDA do? I presume that is why President UCHIDA is riding with the tide of the Army and is trying to keep it (the Army) from committing blunders.

Vice-President EGUCHI, was much concerned about the finances and the maintenance of the South Manchuria Railway Co. (Mantetsu). He refused the Army's unreasonable requests and did not let the Army have its own way. Therefore, strong feelings existed in the Kwantung Army and in Army circles that, "Count UCHIDA is all right, but Vice-President EGUCHI is a problem." The political parties took in the situation and at first the Seiyukai, especially as represented by MORI, seemed to want to dismiss EGUCHI and UCHIDA. There seems to have been a kind of movement in party circles to dismiss the President and the Vice-President of the South Manchuria Railway Co., and to have members of the party occupy those

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positions. The members of the party are trying hard to place leading members of their own choice in the positions of President and Vice-President of the South Manchuria Railway Co.

The attitude taken by War Minister ARAKI and others who form the backbone of the Army was, "Since the Army has wanted permanency in the presidency of the South Manchuria Railway Co., Count UCHIDA and EGUCHI have been indivisible, although Vice-President EGUCHI is considered an undesirable character by the Army. If EGUCHI is dismissed, Count UCHIDA would resign too. If EGUCHI is dismissed, knowing this fact, the Army would be contradicting itself. Therefore, the matter pertaining to EGUCHI shall be left as it is, although there may be some discontent."

Vice-Minister KOISO amd ONODERA, Chief of the Intendance Bureau, and others felt resentful towards EGUCHI. Especially ONODERA, who seemed to have a strong feeling that the presence of EGUCHI in the South Manchuria Railway Co. was against their interest. Although KOISO and ONODERA are in such positions as Vice-Minister and Chief of the Intendance Bureau, actually, they are shunned by the leaders in the Army and they do not truly represent the Army.

HATA, Minister of Overseas Affairs, lacked knowledge concerning the Army's central power, thought that what KOISO and ONODERA said was the true opinion of the Army of today.

Major General ATOMIYA, who recently became the Chief of the General Staff of the Kwantung Army, returned from Manchukuo, and was instructed by ONODERA and KOISO. He

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(ATOMIYA) intruded upon the Minister of Overseas Affairs, asserting: "The Kwantung Army expects EGUCHI's dismissal"

The Minister of Overseas Affairs had previously thought of dismissing EGUCHI, for party feelings run high with him. Even from an emotional standpoint, a barrier existed between EGUCHI and himself. Since it was desired by the Army, and thinking it was all right, he called EGUCHI while he was in Tokyo and urged him to resign. Although EGUCHI was aware of the feelings which existed in the Cabinet, he did not think it would go so far as to dismiss him. During his meeting with the Minister, he had a hot argument concerning his resignation, which suddenly caused him to be relieved of his post.

The Premier was very much disappointed with the action taken by the Minister of Overseas Affairs and criticized him mercilessly at the Cabinet meeting. I heard that after the Cabinet meeting, Chief Cabinet Secretary MORI told the Premier: "Your rebuke of the Minister of Overseas Affairs was a little too strong, and I felt sorry for the Minister."

The Army, through the War Minister, tried to stop EGUCHI from being dropped, but it was too late, for the dismissal had already been sanctioned by the Emperor.

The Premier was not well disposed towards Count UCHIDA. Therefore, the Premier had been contemplating having YAMAMOTO, Jotaro appointed President of the South Manchuria Railway Co., whenever there was a good opportunity. He thought that with YAMAMOTO as President, the rather acute problem between Russia and Japan could be solved amicably by economic means, through establishing credits for and trade relations with Russia.

YAMAMOTO, Jotaro is an influential person and also is very capable, so the Premier sincerely believed that the Army might be checked to a certain degree.

When news of EGUCHI's dismissal circulated, UCHIDA's intention to resign was made known to the Cabinet. The communication which came from Dairen, stated: "President UCHIDA's dissatisfaction reaching the extreme....", thus, his resignation was forwarded to the Premier.

When this happened, the Army made energetic efforts to persuade President UCHIDA to remain in office. The Minister of Overseas Affairs hurriedly sent a conciliatory wire. The Premier reproached the Minister of Overseas Affairs for dismissing EGUCHI at his own discretion and again for wiring him (UCHIDA) to remain in office.

Then, I (HARADA) called on the Premier who said: "EGUCHI will be missed greatly. The financial status of the South Manchuria Railway Co. has been comparatively safe with EGUCHI there, but Count UCHIDA has an accommodating disposition toward the Army and he is unreliable. Now I am unable to take measures to persuade Count UCHIDA to remain in office. I would like to have YAMAMOTO for President and KATSUDA for financial adviser." He also expressed great dissatisfaction toward the Minister of Overseas Affairs for taking discretionary action.

Just at that time, Home Minister SUZUKI's faction recommended KATSUDA, Kazue, the Premier recommended YAMAMOTO, and there were several others who campaigned to have themselves appointed as President of the South Manchuria Railway Co. However, the Army was still hoping that President UCHIDA would remain in office.

The War Minister personally called on the Premier a number of times and asked the Premier: "Please persuade President UCHIDA to remain in office."

Then, the Premier declared: "I cannot persuade UCHIDA to remain in office provisionally. If I am to ask him, I've got tc say: 'Please remain permanently'. However, I do not think it practicable to have UCHIDA remain in office and therefore I cannot persuade him."

The Kwantung Army made such requests as: "Please have Count UCHIDA remain in office until everything is settled upon the arrival of the Investigation Commission from the League of Nations", and "If Count UCHIDA is to resign his post, then, we would like to have a President that is just and who has no party affiliations."

Seizing such an opportunity, it seemed that the group affiliated with IINO, Kichisaburo of the Army asked to have someone like ICHIKI, Otohiko for that post.

The War Minister made efforts to have President UCHIDA remain in office. But since it was evident that Vice-Minister KOISO and the Chief of the Intendance Bureau, who were under the immediate control of the War Minister, were the cause of EGUCHI's resignation, as the Minister he was unable to reproach the Premier strongly.

Therefore, he (War Minister) said to the Navy Minister and also to me (HARADA): "Please ask the Prince (SAIONJI) to tell the Premier: 'The Premier should ask Count UCHIDA to remain in office'." Therefore, when I went to Okitsu, I told the Prince (SAIONJI) about this matter, and he said: "When the Premier is making an effort to place YAMAMOTO in that post, I cannot emphatically say:

'Have UCHIDA remain in office'. However, the Cabinet's action in this matter was very awkward."

When I told Prince SAIONJI: "You have given advice and made requests on various matters to the War Minister and others. If you do not wish to take this matter up personally this time, I will do them as much favor as possible on this occasion, so it might benefit us in the long run", and he answered: "I cannot do anything directly, but I guess that's all right."

Since then, I have met with the War Minister. Looking from all angles, there seems to be a feeling that, if President UCHIDA is relieved, that is if the Premier does not persuade UCHIDA to remain in office and UCHIDA resigns, the matter will become more complicated and eventually will cause the War Minister to resign. As the matters stand, it might even affect the life of the Cabinet.

When the War Minister called on the Premier regarding this matter he wasn't able to say things emphatically due to the situation, but when I saw him, he (War Minister) told me: "If President UCHIDA cannot be persuaded to remain in office, I have no power to suppress the Kwantung Army, and I cannot continue in office."

The way of thinking of both the Army and the Kwantung Army improved considerably in comparison with the past. Both the Kwantung Army and the Army want to receive the Investigation Commission from the League of Nation and to have them make a thorough investigation of present conditions and depart with a clear understanding. Therefore the Premier will benefit in the future if he seizes this opportunity and complies with the Army's

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request to persuade the President to remain in office. However, if there's no effort made by the Premier, and Count UCHIDA resigns, the Army is not looking forward to both YAMAMOTO and KATSUDA. If results are of that nature, the situation will become even more serious. In contrast with the past, this time, earnest elements will stress overthrowing political parties and will seriously advocate the abolition of party politics. We don't know what actions they'll take. Instead of the rebellious elements, the serious-minded groups that are trying to bring the rebellious elements under control again might even lead the way and start a Fascist movement. Anyway, this is a very critical stage.

Since I (HARADA) had been asked by those in the Army, I mentioned this matter to the Navy Minister and also asked the Premier's reconsideration again. I personally met the Premier and told him: "The Prince will not say anything directly; however, the situation is grave and the water is not merely tepid as you might think."

I also met INUKAI, Ken and explained clearly the Premier's views concerning the Army and asked his reconsideration. At the same time, I explained the political party connections of the Army, and the present situation to Vice-President YATA (new Vice-President of the South Manchuria Railway Co) saying: "From your standpoint it is necessary that you have President UCHIDA remain in office even if you have to advise the Premier that after your visit to Manchukuo, you cannot bear the heavy responsibilities as Vice-President if President UCHIDA is not kept in office."

I also told him: "Viewing the general situation, the smooth progress of the Manchukuo situation is much more important than the problem of whether the South Manchuria Railway Co. can maintain itself or not. Laying aside the motive, it is necessary above all things that this new nation (Manchukuo) be guided and brought to perfection."

President UCHIDA's problem, which is being talked about at present as a national affair, will bring about Japan's loss of dignity internationally and also affect the nation's prestige. It will also be a severe blow to the progress of this new nation (Manchukuo).

The establishment of this new nation gives life to the South Manchuria Railway Co., and is a factor which will stabilize Japan. Taking this matter into careful consideration, it is absolutely necessary for President UCHIDA to remain in office. Since the War Minister is even thinking of risking his own position to have UCHIDA remain in office, I thought it really must be an important matter, so I stressed this point when I talked to the Vice-President. I again spoke to INUKAI, Ken and also asked the Premier to reconsider this matter.

At the Foreign Ministry, I unexpectedly met MATSUOKA, Yosuke, who had returned from Shanghai. I told him: "It seems that YAMAMOTO, Jotaro, who was proposed as successor for the position of President of the South Manchuria Railway Co. is waiting to consult you on his reply on this matter. However, from a personal, as well as from the general viewpoint, to select YAMAMOTO as President of South Manchuria Railway

Co. might result in a great misfortune. Therefore, it's better not to encourage him."

Then, MATSUOKA stated, "Naturally, I will not encourage him. I would rather stop him."

The following day when I went to the War Minister's official residence, I saw MATSUOKA standing in the corridor near the entrance. When I greeted him, he seemed to have completely forgotten about the conversation I had with him at the Foreign Ministry and said: "I called on YAMAMOTO last evening and urged him to accept the position of President of the South Manchuria Railway Co., but he did not respond to it. I am planning to urge him again tonight." The words I had had with him yesterday had fallen unheeded upon him, so I thought it fruitless to deal with him, and went immediately to the War Minister's room. I left, after telling him: "I believe that you are meeting MATSUOKA now. I wish you'll instil into MATSUOKA that: 'It wouldn't be wise to have someone other than Count UCHIDA as President of Southern Manchurian Railway Co.' Also, 'that if anything happens like that, I won't forgive you'."

The War Minister seemed to have the same opinion and thanked me.

I was told that on April 16, the ministers of state, as guests of the Navy Minister for a day, will board a battleship in Tokyo Bay.

Upon my return, INUKAI, Ken came over and said: "My father has considered the matter carefully and it seems that UCHIDA will be persuaded to remain in office. MORI came over and said: 'I received a wire from Director TOKAWA of the South Manchuria Railway Co., stating, that

if the Minister of Overseas Affairs or I (MORI) will persuade UCHIDA by wire, he will certainly remain in office. Therefore, I would like to wire him'. However, we think he wants to do this merely for his own publicity. What do you think?"

Therefore, I told him (Ken): "I do not care whether it publicizes MORI or the Minister of Overseas Affairs. I think it is best to persuade UCHIDA to remain in office as the Premier wishes, as soon as possible. It would be wrong to have the Premier persuade UCHIDA to remain in office when there's evidence that the Premier has already approached YAMAMOTO. Therefore, before this happens, it is necessary for the Premier to persuade UCHIDA through the Chief Cabinet Secretary or HATA (Minister of Overseas Affairs), as soon as possible."

Therefore, stating that it was the Premier's wish, the Chief Cabinet Secretary urged President UCHIDA to remain in office. Finally, President UCHIDA decided to remain. Some say it is temporarily, and others say it is not. Anyway, the complications up to now have been settled.

Before the settlement of this problem, even the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was much concerned and secretly met with KOJIMA, Kazuo and explained to him the conciliation of Count UCHIDA, namely the situation, arising out of changing the President of the South Manchuria Railway Co., and said to him: "Ask the Premier's reconsideration (on this matter)." The Emperor seemed to be very much concerned about this problem too, and it appeared that if the problem of changing the President of South Manchuria Railway Co. had been brought up, the Emperor would

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have asked the elder statesmen for an opinion. When the matter finally was settled, it seemed that the Imperial Court circles were greatly relieved.

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Chapter 41
(3 May 1932)

Shiratori Speaks

Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

When the War Minister went to Osaka on an inspection tour, Baron HIRANUMA also went to Osaka to attend the Kokuhon-sha conference. Just about that time Baron HIRANUMA deeply resented the article which recently appeared in the London Times stating: "Baron HIRANUMA, Vice-President of the Privy Council, is the Fascist leader in Japan." As President of the Kokuhon-sha, he submitted statements to the various newspapers explaining emphatically: "I am not a Fascist Leader."

At Osaka, the War Minister made a public speech hinting: "Strike Russia." It subjected him to public censure as well as created a sensation in various circles. Instead of criticizing him, the public was dumbfounded. There were also feelings expressed that: "Even before the settlement of the Manchukuo problem, it is really outrageous to talk about striking Russia, and "he (War Minister) is extremely absurd and (the public) can't even deal with him."

There seemed to be quite a few in Army circles who thought the War Minister had made a careless statement and even his ability was questioned.

Then on April 29, "Tenchosetsu" (Emperor's Birthday), the bomb-incident at Shanghai brought about a serious situation. Minister SHIGEMITSU and Generals SHIRAKAWA, NOMURA and UEDA were wounded at the Tenchosetsu celebration ceremony. Therefore, with the occurrence of such an incident, I was concerned that the negotiations

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for the termination of the war might be at a standstill, or that in correlation with the residents resentment, the Army might aggravate the situation. However, fortunately, the negotiations for the termination of the war were still to be continued, and there was a possibility that the pact would be signed before May 5, when Minister LINDSON leaves for England. Therefore, Councillor YANO from Peking, and UYEDA, (2nd Bureau Chief of the General Staff Headquarters), were both dispatched to Shanghai.

In accordance with the decision reached at the meeting of the Committee of Nineteen, the League of Nations will hold a general meeting on April 30, and the Japanese government has already sent instructions to abstain from voting at the meeting.

There were many in the Foreign Ministry who, like SHIRATORI advocated Japan's withdrawal (from the League of Nations). Army circles in general were enthusiastic about this "Withdrawal from the League of Nations." The basis of SHIRATORI's argument is that, "Japan is unable to remain in the League after taking such actions in Manchukuo since September 18. It is unreasonable for the small nations in Europe who are lacking in knowledge, to restrain Japan. Although Japan desires to have the understanding of the great powers, it is still unnecessary for her to remain in the League. Japan can take an independent stand if she'll negotiate directly with England, France or the United States and obtain their understanding. It is improper to remain in the League."

He must have aroused Chief Cabinet Secretary MORI's sympathy and MORI went directly to the Premier and urged

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withdrawal from the League.

Then the Premier asked MORI: "What will happen to the mandatory rule (of Japan) in the South Seas when Japan withdraws from the League?" MORI's reply was based on the record of investigation conducted by the Chief of the Asia Bureau, and he said: "Japan's withdrawal from the League and Japan's mandatory rule in the South Seas are two different problems." The League of Nations, formed under the Versailles Treaty, and the treaty on mandatory rule in the South Seas are on different grounds. He also hinted that the Chief of the Asia Bureau was also in favor of Japan's withdrawal.

In the evening, INUKAI, Ken came over to see me and told me about this same matter, so I said: "It was very thoughtless on the part of the Premier. Why don't you see TANI (Chief of the Asia Bureau) personally and ask his opinion regarding this matter. As far as I know, TANI seemed to be strongly against (Japan's) withdrawal. Whatever the Chief Cabinet Secretary said, the Premier should have said: 'Since this is a diplomatic problem, this matter will be taken up with the Foreign Minister' and he should have paid no attention to it."

Subsequently, in order to report on SHIRATORI's opinion regarding (Japan's) withdrawal (from the League of Nations) to the Prince, I had KIDO, INOUYE and SUZUKI come over to my place and I heard their opinions regarding SHIRATORI's view.

Their opinion on SHIRATORI's view were the same as aforementioned, and the following day, TANI told KIDO personally that he (TANI) was against withdrawal.

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Chapter 42
(10 May 1932)

Seiyukai Railway Politics

Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

On the morning of May 2, KIDO met the Prince, after a long separation, and talked with him on various matters. That evening, while dining with KIDO, he (KIDO) told me: "The Prince stated: 'What good is it today (for Japan) to withdraw from the League of Nations. I cannot agree with such opinions as to have Japan withdraw from the League, and instead, negotiate directly with England, France, the United States and other great powers. Then with their understanding, carry on Japan's foreign policy, independently, without any intervention from the League. For example, I always wonder when I hear: 'Maintain Japan's diplomatic stand in concert with France;' I cannot help but doubt how much weight it has. I think it is necessary for Japan to rank with England and the United States, maintain harmony, elevate her position, and develop her stand advantageously as a member of the League. In that way, Japan's position can be raised advantageously. I think that it is unwise to join with France and to oppose England and the United States.'"

The following morning, I called at ARITA's place and told him that the Premier had asked me to tell him: "This time when the Foreign Minister asks to have an interview with you please see him, and in case the Foreign Minister says to you: 'Please remain in office,' or if he says: 'You'll be appointed Vice-Minister,' please do not refuse his offer. From all aspects, it is needless to say, the

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Vice-Minister's position is not a favor to you. As a matter of fact, in the present situation, you might even think it very troublesome. However, please sacrifice your personal interests, as we would like to have you devote your efforts to the public service. I am sorry to ask favors of you so often, but I ernestly ask you to give your consent to this." Then, ARITA said: "The Premier often has mentioned this to me, and the Foreign Minister also, though not definitely, seems to want me to accept the post of Vice-Foreign Minister. The next time I see the Foreign Minister, if he still maintains a dubious attitude, I will have to settle this matter by asking him to assume a positively clear attitude."

That same morning ARITA met the Foreign Minister who said: "Please remain, in the post of Vice-Minister." ARITA talked with him on various matters, and on his way home, stopped at my place and told me: "I finally agreed (to remain in office)." Since SHIRATORI and MORI have not yet been informed, ARITA does not want this to be made public until it is settled at the Cabinet meeting. Especially, since SHIRATORI and ARITA have been very close friends, for their future relationship it would be quite unpleasant if SHIRATORI hears about this from someone else. If the Foreign Minister or the Premier mentions this first to MORI, Natumally, SHIRATORI will know. Therefore it is necessary that the time be arranged so that when SHIRATORI is being informed of this matter, the Foreign Minister will inform MORI.

The Foreign Minister immediately called Vice-Minister NAGAI and told him: "For various reasons, I will have to

ask you to resign from your post as Vice-Minister. It is not because of any faults of yours that we are asking your resignation, but due to the outside pressure and various complications. You will succeed Ambassador DEBUCHI as Ambassador to the United States upon his return." Vice-Minister NAGAI then asked the Foreign Minister: "If there's no fault in me, it will be quite unpleasant for me to face people; in order to save my honor, could you please appoint me head of the Examiniation Section which will be created soon?"

Two or three days prior to this meeting, the Minister had said (to NAGAI): "Please resign." NAGAI then answered: "I would like to think it over for two or three days," and they parted with these words. Therefore, this present meeting is the one held after the lapse of two or three days. The Foreign Minister departed, saying: "I'll think about it." Vice-Minister NAGAI agreed to resign at that time, but said to the Foreign Minister: "Please keep me in service as Vice-Minister until my dinner parties are over," since he had invited some diplomatic groups to tea and dinner parties which were to be held on the 2nd, 4th and 6th.

Vice-Minister NAGAI immediately called TANI, Chief of the Asie Bureau, and said: "I will have to resign suddenly," and then explained the situation. Since the Vice-Minister told TANI about this matter, he might even talk to SHIRATORI, therefore, one evening, ARITA had a chat with SHIRATORI and TANI. ARITA also said to me: "Please be present at this meeting," but I did not attend it since I thought it would be better in the long run if it appeared that I had had absolutely nothing to do with

the matter. When ARITA told SHIRATORI the gist of the story, SHIRATORI acted surprisingly happy and declared: "If you are to be the Vice-Minister I'll gladly support you. I don't think you'll express your opinions to the public irresponsibly as has been the case so far. Although there may be differences of opinion, when reports are to be made public, the matter has to be controlled so that it will not inconvenience the Foreign Ministry." ARITA later said: "It was fortunate that everything turned out so well."

After that, the Vice-Minister (MAGAI) called all the section heads into his office and announced: "I will have to resign unexpectedly. My resignation, according to the Foreign Minister is due to outside pressure rather than his desires." Then SHIRATORI asked: "What do you mean by outside pressure?" Vice-Minister MAGAI replied: "The Minister spoke of it, but I did not go so far as to ask (what he meant by outside pressure)."

Afterwards, ARITA came over to my place and stated that he told Foreign Minister YOSHIZAWA: "I heard about the above matter. Personally, I would like you to explain clearly what 'outside pressure' means..., for it is regrettable to have others surmise that it was due to political party connections and to the fact that I am YAMAMOTO's (Minister of Agriculture and Forestry) younger brother. It might even produce bad effects in the future. Therefore, I would like to have you explain clearly the meaning of 'outside pressure', because even the Premier is concerned about this.' Then the Foreign Minister said: 'I'll do that.' I returned after it was so decided. I would like to have you bear this matter in

mind."

When I think about the circumstances pertaining to ARITA's appointment, I cannot help but be greatly disappointed with the Foreign Minister and Vice-Minister NAGAI. It is regrettable that they lack understanding of today's situation. We think that it is regrettable and we are quite surprised at the mild attitude they are taking in the face of such a grave situation.

At the Seiyukai's Kanto (eastern provinces) meeting held in Yokohama on the 8th, the Premier as President of the Party, delivered a speech. At this time it became known that the Government will float ¥30,000,000 worth of bonds in order to buy up private railways. Just when things were in confusion due to this and that, I met INOUYE and SUZUKI at the War Ministry and they both said: "It seems that the persistence of party evils is being confirmed. Especially if the government floats ¥30,000,000 worth of bonds under these unsuitable and unfavorable circumstances, to buy up private railways to further the interests and purposes of the party, when the Government is reluctant to expend funds urgently needed at such a time as this, on the excuse of shortage of revenues.

The Premier's speech at Yokohama yesterday, (May 8), was really frivolous. In his speech the Premier said, in effect that: "Lately, there seem to be some who occasionally disapprove of constitutional parliamentarism. However, I am not pessinistic regarding constitutional parliamentarism, and I think that we should improve it (rather than disapprove it)." However there is no one who is disapproving the basis of constitutional praliamentarism. Since the evil practices of constitutional parliamentar-

ism, namely, party government, are obvious, how can the parties be awakened to the situation and do away with the evils. It is regrettable to have those who blindly say: 'Political parties of today are bad,' treated as repudiators of constitutional parliamentarism.

TOKONAMI's radio broadcast on "The plan for Nationalization of Railways," has been weighing heavily on the Prince's mind. The Prince stated: "It is unbecoming for the Minister of Railways to say such things. He will be criticized for acting: 'To further the interests and purposes of the Party (Seiyukai), etc....'

I (HARADA) became worried about this, so I phoned INUKAI, Ken late in the evening. When I warned him, he told me: "The fact is that this matter is being discussed between YAMAGUCHI, Giichi, HATOYAMA, and myself. They are both quite concerned about it and I would like you to warn the Finance Minister also."

Therefore, the following morning, before the Finance Minister attended the Cabinet meeting, I met him. When I told him the story, he said: "This story goes back to the time when they first said: 'We would like to float ¥30,000,000 worth of bonds to buy up private railways.' However, the situation wasn't suitable, but they said: 'It would be very convenient to have the private railways establish connections between the government lines which run from both sides.' Therefore I told them: 'It would be all right if it were clearly an urgent matter, or if there were no objections to the purchase.' However, at a time like this, when we have a shortage of funds, it is quite inopportune to insist on buying railways. I'll say that the sum of about ¥10,000,000 could be arranged somehow

but please reconsider your proposals? They must have been misconstrued my statement, thinking that I agreed with them, since they approached me with a biggen plan involving ¥60,000,000, which I cut down to about ¥ 30,000,000. I urged them: 'Instead of submitting this at the extraordinary session of the Diet, put it off until the regular session in December.' Then they said: 'It would be inconvenient for the Party if this matter is not brought up at this Diet Meeting.' Therefore I told them that this is a problem which has no connection with the general account, but that I would talk to the War Minister regarding it."

I then told the Finance Minister: "It isn't a problem about general account or special account, but the matter on buying up railways would cause the public to have unfavorable opinion towards the Cabinet. Especially in a time like this, there will be that tendency, therefore, you should take this matter into careful consideration."

I (HARADA) might be making a rash statement without getting at the bottom of it, but I noticed by intuition that since Vice-Minister KURODA of the Finance Ministry had connections with a certain railway company in the vicinity of Tokyo, in order to buy up that certain railway line, he probably had to permit the purchasing of other railway lines too. This is rather an extremely discourteous conjecture, but that is what I thought.

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Chapter 43*
(3) May 1932)

Inukai assassinated

Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

On May 12th or 13th, KONOYE came over and told me (HARADA): "TOKONAMI came over to my place yesterday and said: 'We must settle this matter about buying up railways and accomplish the purpose. The Finance Minister has consented to this and it has also been passed by the Cabinet meeting and the War Minister without any question. It seems that HARADA is starting a movement against it, but we must accomplish our purpose somehow. Please consider this matter. It seems that the House of Peers is fussy.' He also asked, 'Could the finances of the prefectures be improved somewhat by the flotation of ¥30,000,000 worth of bonds?'." I (HARADA) had heard more or less about this from the Finance Minister, but that doesn't seem to be of much help.

On the 15th, I went to Shizuoka on the noon train and upon reaching Daito Kwan villa, I immediately phoned the Prince: "I am staying at the Daito Kwan Villa and will call on you tomorrow morning at 9 A.M." Since I owed many letters to my friends, I planned to answer the letters at my leisure and so, after supper, when I was writing a few lines to Vice-Admiral NOMURA, there was a phone call from the main building of Daito Kwan to the effect that: "It was broadcast over the radio a little while ago that Premier INUKAI was shot." Shocked at hearing such news, I immediately phoned the Premier's official residence, but since everything was

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* This chapter is numbered "Chapter 42 (continuation)in the manuscript, which has no Chapter 43. The numbering may have been an error of Baron Harada's secretary.

still in confusion, at his home and practically everyone was in the Japanese-style room (scene of the crime), they stated: "He (Premier INUKAI) was shot by someone, but it isn't a mortal wound." Since I had to go to the Prince's place, I immediately left for Okitsu.

According to the phone calls and telegrams that came continuously from Tokyo, Premier INUKAI's condition took an unfavorable turn. Therefore, I telephoned and made contacts with KIDO, Chief secretary of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Chief Cabinet Secretary MORI. I worked on various matters practically all night until the morning of the 16th. The Prince then said: "First, won't you please return to Tokyo and get into contact with the true situation; please return after you get at the bottom of things."

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 44
(22 June 1932)

Army Demands a Coalition

Translated by Fumiko Segawa

I (HARADA) arrived in Tokyo that evening and immediately went to the Premier's official residence to express condolence on the death of the Premier (INUKAI).

On the evening of the 16th, with KIDO and KONOYE present, we had planned to hear Ambassador TANAKA, Tokichi's talk on his inspection tour of Manchukuo, while dining at my home. From 6 P.M. of that evening, KIDO, KONOYE, and I discussed the recent INUKAI assassination incident and its development. When Ambassador TANAKA arrived, we heard his talk on his inspection tour of Manchukuo. According to Ambassador TANAKA:

"First of all, the Manchuria problem should be considered a domestic problem instead of an international problem. There are many who speak about the value of Manchuria to Japan. They may say that Manchukuo is Japan's first line of defense or Japan's life-line from the standpoint of national defense; however, it does not have much economic value.

"Today, special attention must be given to correct the three following points:

"(1) Mistakes in the distribution and use of men and material.

"(2) The basic principles for controlling Manchuria are vague. It is undecided whether to make Manchukuo an independent nation, a mandatory territory, or Japan's possession. Consequently, the situation is precariously unstable.

"(3) Finally if the Japanese soldiers are made to

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live an insignificant existence indefinitely in Manchuria, for the maintenance of security, it will injure their morale."

During the meal the Navy Minister called and said:

"It is highly important that I meet you."

I met him. He was seriously disconcerted over the fact that the Premier INUKAI assassination group comprised some Navy officers. He said:

"I must resign unconditionally (in penance for the atrocities committed by the Navy officers in this Incident). I have seriously considered measures for settling the aftermath of this Incident; I shall employ every possible measure to clarify the situation."

That same evening, we again heard Ambassador TANAKA's talk. Then, at 9 P.M., Ambassador TANAKA left to attend a banquet. KIDO and KONOYE remained. We discussed various matters. About 11 P.M., OKAZAKI, Kunisuke appeared, commented on current affairs, and left.

On the 17th, about 11 A.M., I went to the Imperial Palace and met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, The Grand Chamberlain and the Minister of the Imperial Household. They stated: "As soon as Prince SAIONJI arrives in Tokyo, first the Grand Chamberlain would like to see him and then the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal would like to talk to him." It seemed that the general opinion of the persons close to the Emperor was: "A coalition Cabinet is desirable under present circumstances."

On my way back, I visited the Finance Minister (TAKAHASHI, Korekiyo) at his official residence and sought his opinions, as Acting-Premier, on current affairs. Acting-Premier TAKAHASHI said: "I would like to see Prince

SAIONJI when he comes to Tokyo."

That noon, I had lunch with KIDO, KONOYE, INOUYE, and SUZUKI of the Army and discussed possible solutions of the Incident. Then at 4 P.M. I again had KIDO and KONOYE come to my home. Major General NAGATA, Tetsuzan came and expressed the Army's demand that it should select the succeeding Premier. The Army's demand: "The Army is for a coalition Cabinet. Persons from political parties must renounce party affiliations before entering the Cabinet."

About 5:30 P.M., ONO, Chief of the Metropolitan Police, came over. He seemed to be much concerned about the situation.

Later, I heard that OKAZAKI, Kunisuke came over to see me during my absence, so I telephoned him. He told me: "The leaders of the Seiyukai will meet late tonight at the Premier's official residence; I'm attending it; I'll also drop in at your place tonight." Therefore, I waited for OKAZAKI; he finally came late, about 11 P.M. and left after talking about the internal conditions of the Seiyukai.

According to OKAZAKI: "Reports from all sources indicate that under the present situation in the Seiyukai, TOKONAMI will have to be reconciled to yielding to SUZUKI, who will be elected President of the Party." OKAZAKI seemed very discontentod over this but he seemed to have thought it inevitable in order to settle the matter.

Soldiers on active duty were responsible for Premier INUKAI's Assassination Incident. A rough sketch of the Premier's official residence (where the assassination occurred) had been dropped by the assassins, and it was found

after they left the scene. There were rumors to the effect that: "The Kempei, who usually guard the Premier's official residence, must have guided them inside," or that: "This incident must have been carried out with the collaboration of the Chief Cabinet Secretary." Consequently when I went over (to INUKAI's home) and stayed for about 2 hours during the mourning ceremony, I was filled with indescribably strange emotions.

Ill feelings toward political parties and resentment against capitalism, which have been prevalent, might have supplied a remote motive. But, according to rumors, receipts for money were found in CHANG Hsueh-Liang's safe (by the Japanese Army in Manchuria), signed by high Japanese officials and political party leaders; among them was Premier INUKAI's receipt.

This seemed to have been one of the causes of their resentment against INUKAI. Therefore, the young officer, who met Premier INUKAI and threatened him with a revolver, suddenly began to reproach the Premier for the CHANG Hsueh-Liang scandal. The Premier told him: "You'll understand if I tell you the story, so come over here", and was taking him to the parlour of the Japanese-style room, when the group of assassins that entered the house from the rear urged him to shoot and caused him to commit the crime.

I left (Tokyo) in the morning of the 18th and reached my destination (Okitsu) at 12:00. I then dined with Prince SAIONJI and reported to him of the current political situation at Tokyo in detail; I then returned to my hotel. That same day at 1 P.M., Prince KONOYE left Tokyo on the express train Fuji and called on Prince SAIONJI about 5 P.M.

After reporting to SAIONJI news of the current political situation, he returned to Minaguchiya Inn towards evening and dined with me. He was going to accompany Prince SAIONJI to Tokyo the next day. I then made various arrangements (for SAIONJI's trip) with authorities in Tokyo and, after dinner, went to the Prince's place.

The following day (19th), he (SAIONJI) left for Tokyo on the express train Fuji from Shizuoka station at 1:40 P.M. Unprecedented measures were taken to guard Prince SAIONJI. En route to Tokyo, HATA, Chief Commandant of the Kempei (Military Police) boarded the train and explained to SAIONJI by charts the circumstances of the Assassination Incident. He talked all the way from Numazu to Kozu.

Shortly after Prince SAIONJI arrived at his Surugadai residence, The Grand Chamberlain came to see him at 5 P.M. To outward appearances, The Grand Chamberlain had come for an unofficial visit. I learned later that he had, in reality, come to convey the special wishes of the Emperor to SAIONJI.

The following morning, before the arrival of Acting-Premier TAKAHASHI, I went to the Prince's place.

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 45-A
(23 June 1932)

Admiral Saito, Premier

Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

The Prince said to me: "The Grand Chamberlain came over last evening and conveyed the wishes of the Emperor which I thought were wholly pertinent and just*:

1. The Premier must be a person of high character.

2. The reform of the present evils of politics, and the restoration and regeneration of military discipline and morale within the Army and Navy, depend in the highest degree upon the character of the Premier.

3. It is immaterial whether the Cabinet is a coalition or one formed by a single party.

4. A person sympathetic to Fascism is absolved unacceptable as Premier.

5. The constitution must, by all means, be upheld and safeguarded; otherwise I would not be able to justify and vindicate myself to Emperor Meiji.

6. Foreign Policies must be based on international peace; foreign relations should be smooth and harmonious.

7. The difference between the powers and functions of administrative officials and those of parliamentary Vice-Ministers and Councillors must be clearly defined; and the regeneration of discipline and morale in the civil service must be effectuated.

Prince SAIONJI met Acting Premier T.KAHASHI, at 9 A.M., and then, from 10:30 A.M., met KURATOMI, the President of the Privy Council. The Prince met KURATOMI because from the time the Prince resided at Okitsu,

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* See SAIONJI's original memorandum appended to this chapter.

KURATOMI had said: "I am very anxious to see you," but for various reasons this meeting had been postponed until this present meeting in Tokyo.

At 2 P.M., the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal came over and the Prince had a nice chat with him.

I left the Prince's home about 9 A.M., investigated the attitude of various circles, and appeared before the Prince sometime after 4 P.M. The Prince stated: "MAKINO came over and said: 'Please hear the opinions of the so-called Senior Statesmen too,' and: 'Please meet with former Premier WAKATSUKI, Kiyoura, YAMAMOTO, Togo and Field Marshal UYEHARA.' If an interview is held with all at once, they might have different opinions and the interview might end fruitlessly without reaching any conclusion. Therefore, I would like to meet them individually."

"Since MAKINO said to me (SAIONJI): 'Please send YAMANOUCHI Kazutsugu on the errand to Count YAMAMOTO's place,' I would like to have you (HARADA) relay this message to YAMANOUCHI. Since Field Marshall UYEHARA is ill, I guess he won't be able to come."

Then, from the Prince's library, I telephoned Baron WAKATSUKI first, and Count KIYOURA later and told them both: "Since you have been premiers at one time, the Prince would like to hear your opinions on various aspects of the situation." I asked WAKATSUKI: "Could you please come over tomorrow at 10 A.M.?" and to Count KIYOURA, I said: "Please come over tomorrow at 2 P.M." They both answered: "Yes, I'll be there." Count KIYOURA stated: "I have been wanting to meet the Prince for a long time but thought that he must be very busy, and so

hesitated to approach him."

Then, I went to see YAMAMOUCHI, Kazutsugu, who was at the Railway Association, and relayed the Prince's message: "Please be present at Prince SAIONJI's residence in Surugadai tomorrow morning at 9 A.M." I stopped at Kwana to change my clothes and there in the next room, General FUKUDA, Vice-Admiral YOSHIOKA, and the NAGASAKI group were having dinner. It seemed that the hostes had mentioned my arrival to General FUKUDA, because he wanted to see me. When I met FUKUDA, he abruptly said: "Field Marshal UYEHARA is ready and waiting and is saying that: 'If I (UYEHARA) am sent for by the Prince, I will see the Prince in spite of my ill health.'"

Therefore, I told him: "In fact, I was just thinking of wiring him immediately since (the Prince) said: 'Please ask Field Marshal UYEHARA to be present at my place tomorrow, sometime before 4 P.M.'" Then, General FUKUDA said: "I'm sure that Field Marshal UYEHARA will be delighted. I'll phone him immediately and tell him the news too." General FUKUDA telephoned Mr. OTSUKA and asked him to notify Field Marshal UYEHARA, who is at Ichinomiya in Chiba Prefecture.

On the morning of the 21st, when I went to the Prince's residence, YAMAMOUCHI, Kazutsugu was there already, and he left after staying a while. YAMAMOUCHI then visited Count YAMAMOTO and delivered the Prince's message.

MAKATSUKI came (to the Prince's place) at 10 A.M., and Prince KONOYE came at 11 A.M. Then, at 1:30 P.M., YAMAMOUCHI Kazutsugu brought Count YAMAMOTO's reply and left after staying for about 30 minutes. Field Marshal

came at 3:20, and since the Field Marshal was hard of hearing, I assisted by repeating loudly whatever the Prin Prince said. He (UYEHARA) left after staying about one hour.

At 7:50 P.M., War Minister ARAKI called on the Prince and gave a general report on the state of things in the Army up to this day. He also left about an hour later.

That day, it seemed that the Prince was fatigued. When Field Marshal UYEHARA left, I returned to my home. Then, ONO, Chief of the Metropolitan Police came over and said: "It seems very selfish to say this, but in a situation like this, I wonder if the Prince could proceed to the Imperial Palace as soon as possible and petition the Emperor for a succeeding Cabinet, because the 18,000 police officers in the Capital are practically all exhausted due to the continuous uneasy situation in the Capital. Since the 15th they have been on strict security duty and have had no time for rest. Since the general mobilization on the 15th, these police officers have worked without even having ample time to eat, and they are fatigued mentally as well as physically. I (ONO) fear that if this condition continues, it might creat a restless atmosphere among the police officers. Could anything be done to settle this political crisis soon?" Therefore, the following morning, at 8:30 A.M., I went to the Prince's place and told him: "The Chief of the Metropolitan Police came to my home last evening and said: 'The police officers in the Capital who are under my jurisdiction are very much fatigued due to the many consecutive days of security duty, and if efforts are not made soon to settle

this political crisis, I (ONO) will feel very uneasy.'"

At first the Prince thought that it concerned the guarding of his residence, so he replied: "I'll be going home soon...," but when I told him: "The Chief of the Metropolitan Police is referring to conditions in the whole city," the Prince replied: "I'll handle the matter as quickly as possible. Instead of going to the Imperial Palace tomorrow morning as I had planned, I'll go this afternoon and...."

Therefore, I made arrangements with the Board of Chamberlains, and 2 P.M. was decided as the time for Prince SAIONJI's audience with the Emperor. (This 2 P.M., interview between Prince SAIONJI and the Emperor has no bearing upon the Chief's request).

At 8:45 A.M., the Navy Minister called on the Prince, remaining for approximately 30 minutes and leaving after he, as the Navy Minister, reported on the present incident (5:15 INUKAI Incident). At 9:25 A.M., Fleet Admiral TOGO came and he left at 10:05 A.M.

At 10:30 A.M., the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal came and left after 11 A.M.

At 1 P.M., I went to the Prince's place and accompanied him to the Imperial Palace. As usual, the Prince chatted with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Grand Chamberlain, and the Minister of the Imperial Household, in the Lord Keeper's room. Prince SAIONJI was received in audience by the Emperor at 2 P.M., and he petitioned the Emperor respecting the headship of the succeeding Cabinet. The Prince left the Imperial Palace after 2:30 P.M., and returned to Surugadai. After escorting the Prince back to Surugadai, I went home.

Count YAMAMOTO's reply was: "There is no sense in our seeing each other. Although I do not see (the Prince), I am aware of the situation." Count KIYOURA did not say anything in particular, but seemed to desire: "A coalition Cabinet."

Since I assisted at the interview held with SAIONJI I heard Field Marshal UYEHARA say: "If the succeeding Premier is to be someone satisfactory to the Prince, the Army will say nothing. Any person who is competent to assume the helm of state affairs is satisfactory to us. The organization of the Army should resemble a rod which comes under the supervision of the supreme command from the highest to the lowest echelon. It would be of doubtful propriety for me (UYEHARA) to say this to the Prince, but when appropriations for increasing armaments are rejected and extreme inconvenience, is experienced due to lack of armaments, the young officers ridicule high officials like us, saying: 'UYEHARA is a weak-willed person.'"

Prince SAIONJI's Original Memorandum

The following original memorandum, in Prince SAIONJI's own handwriting, which is reproduced on page 1, chapter 45, was found with the manuscript of the SAIONJI - HIRATA Memoirs. This memorandum was intended to be destroyed, for it bears the words: "Consign to fire," written at the end of it. On the face of the envelope enclosing the memorandum, Baron HIRATA, secretary to Prince SAIONJI, wrote the following brief explanation of its nature:

Immediately after Premier INUKAI was assassinated on May 15, 1932, Prince SAIONJI was given

advice by the Emperor (which was conveyed to him through the Grand Chamberlain, Admiral SUZUKI, Kantaro) for use in selecting the succeeding Premier. The old Prince recorded in his own handwriting the main points of His Majesty's advice which are enclosed herein.

HARADA

SAIONJI's MEMORANDUM

1. The Premier must be a person of high character.

1. The reform of the present evils of politics, and the restoration and regeneration of military discipline and morale within the Army and Navy, depend in the highese degree upon the character of the Premier.

It is immaterial whether the Cabinet is a coalition Cabinet or one formed by a single party.

A person sympathetic toward fascism is absolutely unacceptable as Premier.

The Constitution must by all means be upheld and safeguarded; otherwise, I would not be able to justify and vindicate myself to Emperor MEIJI.

2. Foreign policies.

3. The difference between the powers and functions of administrative officials and those of parliamentary Vice-Ministers and councillors must be clearly defined; and the regeneration of discipline and morale in the civil service must be effectuated.

—CONSIGN TO FIRE—

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